CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT

"Who's Got A Right To Rhodesia"

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Monday, March 28, 1977

10:00 - 11:00 PM, EST

PRODUCED BY CBS NEWS

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RHODESIA RADIO: This is the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation. Eleven terrorists have been killed in operations, four Africans have died as a result of being caught in cross-fire. . .

. . .Security Forces have announced the deaths in action of five Rhodesian soldiers. . .

. . .Security Forces Headquarters announced today that ten terrorists have been killed by Security Forces. . .

. . .Patrol Officer Sullivan was killed when the police boat in which he was. . .

IRV DRASNIN: You've heard the reports and seen the headlines about Rhodesia - black nationalists against white settlers.

RHODESIA RADIO: . . .since the last communique, two more terrorists have been killed. . .

. . .terrorists have wantonly murdered six African men in different parts of the operation area. . .

. . .terrorists have attacked three European homesteads in the operational area. . .

DRASNIN: Some killings have horrified us more than others, as last month when seven missionaries were slain, each side blaming the other. It was another war in another faraway place that hardly seemed important to us - until recently.

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER [speaking at U.N.]: In southern Africa, we will work to help attain majority rule through peaceful means. We believe that such fundamental transformation can be achieved to the advantage of both the blacks and whites who live in that region of the world. Anything less than that may bring a protracted racial war, with devastating consequences to all.

DRASNIN: A new President of the United States, in his first major foreign policy address, has told the United Nations that America has a commitment in southern Africa.

For years we've heard of Africa's political struggles - in the Congo, in Mozambique and Angola. Rhodesia is the latest battleground in Africa, which President Carter has declared to be part of the global question of human rights. His speech was also important for what he didn't say. He didn't stress opposing ideologies, but racial justice, regardless of political systems or philosophies. That's a new way for an American President to be talking about foreign policy and American interests in the Third World. What is at issue, the President is saying, is not just a political question, but a moral one, in which America has a stake. Human rights in Rhodesia - that's what this broadcast is about. The headlines may be familiar to us, but not the story.

DRASNIN: In Rhodesia's tragedy, there are echoes of America's experience, but there is an important difference here that demands understanding. In Rhodesia, there are a quarter-million whites whose government says it is fighting to preserve democracy, justice and civilization; and more than six million blacks who see it differently - as a country where racial discrimination is law, and where they are powerless to change it. Rhodesia's white government has shown us its side of the story. Black Rhodesians have risked their freedom to show us another side.

BLACK RHODESIAN: To be black is a curse in Rhodesia. In Rhodesia, a dog belonging to a white man is treated better than an African.

WHITE RHODESIAN: My forefathers arrived at the Cape in 1667 - that's over 300 years ago. Who's got a right to the southern part of Africa?

ANNOUNCER: This is a CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT: "Who's Got A Right To Rhodesia" - with CBS News producer Irv Drasnin.

[ANNOUNCEMENTS]

ANNOUNCER: Here again is CBS News producer Irv Drasnin.

DRASNIN: The European has been here three generations. Africans first stood here before recorded history and called this "the smoke that thunders". [Water falls] Today it is known as Victoria Falls, named by David Livingston for the Queen of England. His was the "white man's burden" that made colonialism the legacy of millions who are not white. Time and distance may have obscured the Victorian Age, the age of empire, but not for those whose heritage never lets them forget.

[Band music. . .flag raising. . .]

To white Rhodesians, the heritage, whether by virtue of color, creed or conquest, is theirs.

[Singing of Rhodesian National Anthem]

Their National Anthem - the *Ode To Joy* chorus of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*. The words, which originally proclaimed that "All mankind shall be as brothers," have been rewritten.

The first settlers staked their claim here under the banner of the British South Africa Company.

[Band music]

There was little fanfare or notice paid the first pioneer column of two hundred. It seemed a modest step in Cecil Rhodes' vision of extending British rule throughout the world, the lost colony of America included. More compelling was the promise of gold - 15 mining claims to each man who dared to enter the land of the Mashona and Matabele.

No nation lays prouder claim to its past than Rhodesia. It's a history shared by white and black, though each has his own memory of it.

WHITE TEACHER [in class]: The Matabele were fierce, and anybody who came up into what at that time was Matabele land was pretty frightened.

DRASNIN: The lessons of the past are not lost on young Rhodesian minds.

WHITE TEACHER [in class]: If you went to sleep at night, for example, you didn't sleep too easily. You had your gun by your side, and you had any weapons that you could, and you slept close together, and you tried to stop yourself from becoming discovered. And they were terrifying. I don't know if you remember - remember that sound that the Zulus used to make on their shields?

DRASNIN: This is a history class of 12-year-olds. For the sons and daughters of Rhodesia's government and business leaders, this is more than history. It's an object lesson.

WHITE TEACHER [in class]: Right, you're coming towards me, and I'm the poor frightened white man or whatever. [Laughter] Are you ready? Let's go!

[Children dancing, encircling teacher, beating on desks]

All right, I'm terrified! [Laughter] I'm terrified. Yes, well, those chaps were fierce. Anyway, in 1890--

DRASNIN: In this part of Africa, evidence of an advanced African culture goes back a thousand years. In Rhodesia, the history of civilization begins in 1890.

WHITE TEACHER [in class]: Another chap became interested in Rhodesia, and I'm not going to tell you his name. I want to see if you can guess. But he had a dream, and his big dream was called a Cape-to-Cairo railway line. Who was he?

STUDENT: Cecil John Rhodes.

WHITE TEACHER: Cecil John Rhodes. And what's he famous for? What's he famous for, Karen?

KAREN: Founding Rhodesia.

WHITE TEACHER: Founding Rhodesia. He was the chap who really founded this as a civilized country.

[Bells]

DRASNIN: It was in the name of civilization that 75 years later in 1965 Rhodesia declared its independence from Britain. The choice was clear - an acceptance of Britain's policy to turn over its colonies to black rule, or rebellion. In a stunning denial of all the historical forces at work on a black continent, a white rebellion was proclaimed with these words of Prime Minister Ian Smith.

[Organ music]

PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH: We have struck a blow for the preservation of justice, civilization and Christianity, and in the spirit of this belief, we have this day assumed our sovereign independence.

DRASNIN: White rule may have begun as the divine right of kings. It survives as the privilege of those who, by birth and by breeding, have assumed that right.

ANTHONY EASTWOOD: I often think that the-- what people really want in Rhodesia is the-- the British Empire. They want it to be run like an outpost of the Empire before the First World War. That's-- That's how they see it, and those are the values which they adhere to here. And the-- the idea that the world has changed since then, or that people's ideas have changed since then, is repugnant to them.

DRASNIN: Anthony Eastwood is a lawyer who has decided to leave Rhodesia.

What do you think they're really fighting for here?

EASTWOOD: It's quite simple what Rhodesians-- what white Rhodesians are fighting for here, and that is to maintain white rule, because by white rule they can maintain white privilege.

[Band music in the park]

DRASNIN: White Rhodesia is a small town - the population of Akron, Ohio. Few remain of the pioneers who first settled here. These are immigrants, most of them refugees from the cold and economic depression of England after World War II. They brought with them an idea and a way of life. In a shrinking Empire, Rhodesia seemed the only place left.

[Band music]

It's a different world now, but the idea remains the same for Rhodesians, white and black.

[Band music. . .lawn bowling, background conversation]

If history is closing in on white privilege in Rhodesia, it's not apparent on a Sunday afternoon in Salisbury, the capital.

WHITE RHODESIAN [during lawn bowling]: Ah, a little too much, I--

DRASNIN: Faith in their own superiority and a government-controlled press are buffers to reality, but not barricades.

RHODESIA RADIO: This is the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation. A Security Force communique announced this evening that Mr. Theophilius Graefenstein of Ashton Farm in the eastern operational area was murdered by terrorists yesterday evening.

DRASNIN: Within four hours' drive from the capital in any direction, the barricades are going up. The enemy is more often felt than seen: the hidden landmine on dirt roads, the hit-and-run attack on isolated farms, the random ambush.

The war hasn't much changed the farmers' lifestyle. It has changed his architecture: fences and protective wiring, lights that burn at night, and police reservists from the cities are now part of the landscape. Unchanged is the farmer's resolve, a fact of crucial importance to white Rhodesia. Their 6,000 farms have become outposts of resistance, their determination the backbone of the ruling Rhodesian Front Party. Theirs is the predominant voice and mood of white Rhodesia.

FARMER: The farmers came here. They've got a stake in the country. They made the country. They developed the land, and the farms belong to us. And we're here to stay, and there's no way in which we will move.

FARMER'S WIFE: Whatever we possess today, we've worked for. It was not given to us by anybody. We worked for it. So, we're entitled to it.

FARMER: Well, we brought this situation upon ourselves. The more we educate these people, the more they want the power.

FARMER: And it's only a handful of them that are looking for ultimate power, and it's a handful, and they want power and total control. And the rest, just peace, contentment, carrying on with their lives.

FARMER: And also, I think, with a certain amount of pride, that they have got a European boss to whom they can turn in all their troubles, be it domestic, be it financial, be it medical, whatever it is, they've got somebody who has-- because they are now de-- de-tribalized to a certain extent, they have got a local chief to whom they can turn, as I say, in time of trouble.

DRASNIN: And that chief is white?

FARMER: And that chief happens to be white. It's their employer. It's a paternalistic thing, which of course is a dirty word in the-- in the modern world, but, nevertheless, that is what they want.

DRASNIN: Do you feel threatened here at all on your farms?

FARMER: No.

FARMER'S WIFE: No, we don't feel threatened, but we realize it could happen to us--

FARMER: It could happen.

FARMER'S WIFE: --and we're all ready and prepared for it.

DRASNIN: What will you do if it happens?

FARMER'S WIFE: If it happens, then I will-- I can't tell you this. It's a secret, of course, but I know exactly what I would do, and I'm sure everybody else would. We're all jacked up and ready.

EMCEE [at nightclub]: As you know, we are trying to raise funds for the-- our Security Forces.

[Cheers]

DRASNIN: What white Rhodesians will do is fight. The mood is militant, whether on the farms or in a Salisbury discotheque.

EMCEE: . . .especially in this moment in time when our magnificent fighting forces crossed over into Mozambique-- [Cheers] --and hammered I believe over 300 of these bastards. A few more raids like this, and I think our country will be-- will come through. [Cheers]

DRASNIN: As in every society that ever went to war, fighting is the burden of youth, and for Rhodesia's white youth it is compulsory starting at age 18.

[Modern music]

Their fight is no longer just for privilege, but for survival, a fight that is reminiscent of other recent wars in other remote places, and of military strategies that didn't work.

[Music. . .helicopter sounds]

These helicopters are landing at a base just 70 miles northeast of Salisbury. During the past four years, the war has moved steadily in from the borders, and closer to the cities. Virtually every helicopter every airplane, every drum of oil, every weapon that has been imported during the past 11 years, has come here illegally, in violation of international sanctions against trade with Rhodesia.

There are black troops in the Rhodesian army, volunteers of the segregated Rhodesian African Rifles, the legacy of another colonial tradition. It's impossible to ask them how they feel about this war. The government wouldn't allow us interviews with men in uniform.

[Alert - siren: "Let's hit it!". . .]

The government is sensitive about the filming of military operations. This was to be a staged exercise, but what you're seeing wasn't planned This alert was real. It's that kind of war. In ten minutes, the helicopters are loaded with four-man teams, black and white, but always commanded by a white officer. Ground troops move out in support.

[Helicopters take off]

Vietnam made the search-and-destroy mission a conventional, if not decisive, operation in this kind of war. Here it's a constant holding action in a war that even the Rhodesian military admits they cannot ultimately win on the battlefield.

RHODESIA RADIO: Here is the AA road report. Precautionary convoys are operating on the Fort Victoria/Beitbridge road, and on the Fort Victoria/Birchenough road/Umtali road. Travel between Essexvale and Beitbridge is restricted to daylight hours only.

RHODESIAN SOLDIER [instructing motorist]: There will be no stopping, not till Chiredzi, anyway. And if you do have any problems, just pull over to the side of the road, stop. Our tail-end Charley will look after you.

MOTORIST: Okay.

SOLDIER: In the event of anything happening, which we don't anticipate, accelerate. Don't stop. If you are forced to stop because of cars piling up in front of you, abandon the vehicle, take cover in the ditch on the side of the road. Okay?

MOTORIST: Fine.

SOLDIER: Any question?

MOTORIST: No. Thank you.

SOLDIER: Good. Have a good trip.

MOTORIST: Thanks.

DRASNIN: Wherever you go in Rhodesia, the trip is getting more dangerous, for soldier and civilian. Rhodesia is a troubled country, and a stubborn one.

MOTORIST: I don't think it'll last much longer.

DRASNIN: You're optimistic about Rhodesia's future?

MOTORIST: Oh, Lord, I wouldn't be here if I wasn't.

DRASNIN: And you're determined to stay here?

MOTORIST: Of course. It's my home. No one's pushing me out.

DRASNIN: This highway heads toward the border with South Africa. The first white settlers passed this way as they entered Rhodesia, protected then by 500 British South Africa police against Africa tribesmen. Today, they move again under armed guard at speeds up to a hundred miles an hour, mindful of mortar attacks by African nationalists. They're not yet thinking of travelling this road out of the country for good.

[Auto convoy]

[ANNOUNCEMENTS]

21:10

DRASNIN: There was a time when Africans ruled here - long before the first white settler arrived. Rhodesia is the European's name for this country. Africans call it Zimbabwe, capital of an ancient kingdom traced to the 11th century. Its ramparts protect the memory of an African past, but not the African's place in the 20th century. Even here there is another side to Rhodesian life that tourists may not notice, or choose to ignore. It may be discreet racism, but it's still racism.

[African children singing in chorus]

This is white man's Africa: African children in Western dress singing Christian hymns in the English language.

[African children singing]

In Rhodesia today, it's the white who sets the standards. It's up to the African to conform or be judged uncivilized.

[African children singing in chorus]

By any standard, almost anywhere the black Rhodesian goes, where there are whites he is an outsider. The signs of discrimination are everywhere.

[African children singing in chorus over montage of Rhodesian scenes]

There are laws, written and unwritten, that separate the races in life and in death, in white cemeteries and in black. Because of other laws, it was difficult to record on film what Americans take for granted - citizens of a country speaking of their lives. There were exceptions.

BLACK RHODESIAN: The most important thing about being black is immediately you feel inferior. You don't feel inferior; you're made to feel inferior. For-- You know, when you try to-- to enumerate

these things, you do find that, you know, it's not so easy to tell them, but the important thing is to feel them. When you are treated like, you know, you don't belong, you are-- you are just a, you know, a convenient either servant or, you know, to do the other menial jobs, then the whole feeling of almost having been dehumanized, you know, being looked at like a little beetle that can conveniently be picked up and thrown away as the, you know, the-- the powers wish, those in authority.

DRASNIN: For the African, there's a bewildering network of laws that control his life and his livelihood: the Land Tenure Act, the Law and Order Maintenance Act, the Accommodation and Registration Act, the Masters and Servants Act. They are some of the laws that control how the African lives, but not how he feels.

What do you think the fighting is about in Rhodesia?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Racial discrimination, that's for sure.

BLACK RHODESIAN: Freedom. Everyone has got to be free.

DRASNIN: Is the African free in Rhodesia?

BLACK RHODESIAN: I wouldn't say so, because we don't enjoy the human rights.

BLACK RHODESIAN: Take, for instance, myself. When I left school, I-- I had applied for an electrical engineering job, but I couldn't get it because I wasn't white, you see. But now, after I'd been working for the railways-- I worked for about four years, being underpaid, being paid $80 for the same job that a man who was white was getting about $250 for a start, and I to get $80. You know, that thing really pricks you sometimes.

BLACK TEACHER [in class]: What did David Livingston discover? He discovered something on Zambesi River.

DRASNIN: There are two Education Acts in Rhodesia, one for whites, another for blacks. They guarantee that education is separate and unequal. Rhodesian children share one thing - a white perspective of history.

BLACK TEACHER [in class]: Why did he call the falls Victoria? [Indistinct name]?

STUDENT: He called the-- the falls Victoria after Queen Victoria.

BLACK TEACHER: Yes. What ship did he use. . .

DRASNIN: And there's some arithmetic that's important here. The government spends ten times as much on the education of a white child as on a black; 40% of black children don't go to school, and only one in three hundred finishes secondary school. For whites, school is free and compulsory; for blacks, it is neither. What is compulsory for blacks is English, their second language.

BLACK TEACHER [in class]: What did he do in trying to stop the slave trade? Hilda?

HILDA: He sent many letters to England--

BLACK TEACHER: Yes.

HILDA: --to show the suffering.

BLACK TEACHER: The suffering of what? Of who?

HILDA: Of the slaves.

BLACK TEACHER: Of the slaves, yes.

DRASNIN: Education means jobs. Most skilled jobs are governed by the Apprenticeship Act. It requires ten years of schooling as a minimum condition for apprenticeship. That excludes most Africans. It also makes this a common picture of Rhodesians at work: black, and white.

Most Africans who work are governed by the Masters and Servants Act. It makes no provision for collective bargaining or minimum wages. For the "masters" it's one of the most comfortable and, by law, secure standards of living in the world - a life style they are reluctant to have filmed. What remained in view of the camera were the servants, who tend the homes and gardens of white neighborhoods. The per capita number of swimming pools in white Rhodesia is said to be second only to Beverly Hills.

Under the Land Tenure Act, white Rhodesians, outnumbered 20-to-1, have exclusive rights to half the land in Rhodesia. They govern all of it.

The African township is also white land, set aside for the black work force. In the words of a government minister, townships exist for the white economy. These are two-family houses in Highfield. Typically, there is no refrigeration, no electricity, and no indoor plumbing. The basic food is mealie meal. An estimated 70% of families like this one live below the poverty line. No one knows this better than the housing inspector.

HOUSING INSPECTOR: This area of Highfield is called "cherima"--

DRASNIN: What does that mean?

HOUSING INSPECTOR: --which means "darkness". These people may live, you know, with six or seven children in each-- in-- in two rooms.

DRASNIN: In two rooms?

HOUSING INSPECTOR: Yes.

DRASNIN: So there might be as many as nine people living in two rooms?

HOUSING INSPECTOR: Quite true.

DRASNIN: Is this the way most people live in Highfield?

HOUSING INSPECTOR: Yes.

DRASNIN: Do you think the people are happy living here?

HOUSING INSPECTOR: No, they are not.

DRASNIN: The answers are short and guarded. It's not easy for an African to speak openly, especially about politics and the war.

How do you feel about the boys who are fighting - the guerrillas?

BLACK RHODESIAN: You mean the Africans?

DRASNIN: Yes.

BLACK RHODESIAN: Well, on that one I can't comment. I mean, assuming that this-- this interview might come out in the Rhodesian papers, you know. Well, I might-- I may not have to comment on that one.

DRASNIN: You can get into trouble?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Very-- Very much so. Very much, indeed.

DRASNIN: How do you feel about the boys who are fighting, who have crossed the border to fight?

BLACK RHODESIAN: No, I can't comment about that.

DRASNIN: Why not?

BLACK RHODESIAN: You know, there are so many people around here, and they're waiting for me, to hear what I'll say just after you've asked this question.

DRASNIN: You mean there are informers?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Yes, sell-outs, informers, and all that stuff. A lot of them. I could tell you a lot, but not with these chaps around.

DRASNIN: And what would happen to you if you did?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Straight I would go to jail. Life, I should say.

DRASNIN: Hundreds of black Rhodesians have gone to jail because of informers and because of another set of laws. Under the Law and Order

Maintenance Act, Africans are denied basic political freedoms. Since a state of emergency was declared in 1965, any person can at any time be arrested without charge, held indefinitely without bail, and be tried, and even executed, in secret. Amnesty International estimates there are more than 1200 political prisoners in Rhodesia.

[Black Africans playing golf]

A small number of Africans have escaped economically, within their own society. They even have their own golf club, the only non-white course in Salisbury. These golfers are in the fairway, not the rough, and this is the green.

There is an African township for the wealthy - Marimba Park. About 600 Africans live here. Forty times that number live here in another African township in hostels provided by companies for their black workers. This is Coca-Cola's. Among the companies that have hostels here are Lever Brothers and several Rhodesian firms. The average wage for Africans in industry is $25 a week. They have few possessions - some clothes, and an occasional radio.

[Radio playing Western music]

These hostels are for men only, both single and married. No families or women are allowed.

BLACK RHODESIAN: I-- I don't feel like living here, because I'm a family man. I have a wife and kids.

DRASNIN: Where is your family?

BLACK RHODESIAN: They are all in the T-T-L.

DRASNIN: In the Tribal Trust Lands?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Yes.

DRASNIN: How many times a year do you see your family?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Three times a year.

DRASNIN: Even four to a room can't accomodate the black labor force required by white industry. Each hostel we visited also had a dormitory. Twenty-five were living in this room. They come to the cities from the Tribal Trust Lands in order to earn a cash wage. They at least have jobs and some place to live. There are others who are unemployed or dispossessed. This once-vacant lot is near a bus station a few hundred yards from the hostels, about four miles from Marimba Park, and a long way from homes in the Tribal Trust Lands. There's no name for places like this, and no statistics.

DRASNIN: You are from a Tribal Trust Land?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Yes.

DRASNIN: And why did you leave the Tribal Trust Land?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Because there's nothing else to do. We used to farm; then all our lands were taken as keeps.

DRASNIN: You mean, put into protective villages?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Yes.

DRASNIN: The Tribal Trust Land, or TTL, is where most Africans live, and the protected village is where increasing numbers of them are being moved. In this one TTL, there are 21 protected villages, called "keeps". This was among the first, and by all accounts one of the best, the one shown to visitors and journalists. Like the others, it's surrounded by a barbed-wire fence; every 30 yards there are high-powered lights.

The Registration and Identification Act requires that all Africans carry identity papers, which must be produced on demand. Here, all Africans are fingerprinted and photographed. Without their passes, they cannot work or travel.

No food can be taken outside the fence. The government fears it might be used to supply guerrillas. For the women and children, it often means going without food during the day's work in the fields. But this "keep" is better off than most - it has a reservoir, a school, and a woman's club. The government says Africans want to live in protected villages, that life here is better for them. Even with a guard close by, that's not what the women here told us.

Would they rather live here, or would they like to live in the villages where they came from?

BLACK RHODESIAN [translating]: They say they are [indistinct] to stay out of the protected villages, because they are free to do whatever they want.

DRASNIN: And they are not free to do whatever they want here?

BLACK RHODESIAN: They say we are not free to do whatever we want, because we don't have chances to go and sell food out of the "keep", so we don't have money due to that fact.

DRASNIN: Are they able to send their children to school? Can they afford to have their children go to school?

BLACK RHODESIAN: They say they are unable to send their children to school because they are not getting enough money.

DRASNIN: What happens if they are outside the fence after six o'clock, after the curfew?

BLACK RHODESIAN: They say if they are met by the army people after the curfew, they are shot.

DRASNIN: The curfew here is six at night to six in the morning. At dusk, the villagers return to the "keeps".

RHODESIA RADIO: Security Forces have issued a communique. Fifteen terrorists and eleven Africans running with, and actively assisting, terrorist gangs have been killed by Security Forces. Five curfew breakers have also been killed by Security Forces.

[City checkpoint]

DRASNIN: In the city after dark, every African is a transient and a suspect. He never knows when he might have to produce his pass.

BLACK RHODESIAN: From tobacco auctions, please.

POLICEMAN: Huh?

BLACK RHODESIAN: From tobacco auctions.

POLICEMAN: Tobacco auctions?

POLICEMAN: Tobacco auctions?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Yes, sir.

POLICEMAN: Want his tribal name. . . ?

BLACK RHODESIAN: Queque. Malisa, Chief Malisa.

DRASNIN: Without a pass, an African can be fined or jailed. It applies to everyone - laborer, civil servant, or school teacher.

BLACK RHODESIAN: Oh, yes. English, mathematics, earth science, history, [indistinct].

POLICEMAN: All right, thank you.

POLICEMAN: Thank you.

BLACK RHODESIAN: Thank you.

DRASNIN: The Rhodesian constitution does contain a declaration of rights for every citizen, but the same constitution says that no court can challenge any law that may contravene those rights. That's the white law black Rhodesians understand best.

POLICEMAN: [Indistinct]. . .permit. Thank you.

[ANNOUNCEMENTS]

DRASNIN: International diplomats may still be talking about peace in Rhodesia. At Victoria Falls and throughout the country, the dialogue has ended. Each new day begins and ends in conflict. The war is in its 11th year. During that time, there have been seven attempts to negotiate a settlement. Each has failed.

The border with Mozambique is the hottest war zone, and the parish of The Right Reverend Donal Lamont, the Catholic Bishop of Umtali. There is another white point of view in Rhodesia that has no voice in government, no seats in Parliament, and no exposure on radio or television. Dissent can be dangerous, even for a 65-year-old Irish priest who's lived here 30 years.

THE RIGHT REVEREND DONAL LAMONT: The world is told that this process is the upholding of European standards, the maintaining of European civilization. And worse still - God bless us! - worse still, they say this is preserving Christianity against the menace of Communism. Preserving Christianity!

DRASNIN: What can you tell us about the way the government conducts its anti-guerrilla campaign here?

BISHOP LAMONT: Well, this is true - there are no holds barred. I was shocked, because day after day we'd read in the newspapers, "Our Security Forces killed 10 curfew breakers last night, 12 curfew breakers last night, eight curfew breakers." No names, no circumstances. The facts were they were simply Africans who were out after the appointed hour, and they were shot dead.

DRASNIN: Is there any way to calculate the number of innocent victims that there have been in this anti-guerrilla war?

BISHOP LAMONT: I don't think there is. I don't think there is. There's a cover-up on this, I must say that. This is a dangerous thing to say, but it's true. But now, if we are going to keep quiet about these things, I-- *qui tacet consentire videtur* is what the old Latin says: He who keeps silent is seen to connive at the injustice. I'm certainly not going to keep quiet.

RHODESIA RADIO: This news broadcast comes to you from the RBC. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Umtali, The Right Reverend Donal Lamont, was convicted yesterday on two counts of failing to report the presence of terrorists, and on two of inciting others to do the same. The Bishop faces a maximum sentence of 15 years jail on each count.

[Rhodesian light infantry training: "Take cover!". . .]

DRASNIN: There are laws to deal with internal enemies. The threat from outside is faced by an army of mainly urban youth that must be trained to fight in the bush.

[Rhodesian light infantry training: "Twenty-five". . .gunshots. . . "Charge!". . .background yells, voices]

One inheritance of 19th century imperialism is the 20th century war of liberation. The enemy is a terrorist or a freedom fighter, depending on which side you're on. Here he's a white recruit in black face.

ARMY INSTRUCTOR: Obviously now-- Let's sit down, and let's hear your contact report. . .

DRASNIN: The war has grown, and so has Rhodesia's need to recruit foreigners to help fight it. The government doesn't call them mercenaries, but included in the ranks are British, South Africans, Greeks, Portuguese, and Americans. Listen to the voices. One is clearly Rhodesian.

ARMY INSTRUCTOR: He's jumping the gun. What about [indistinct]?

DRASNIN: The other, clearly, is not.

SOLDIER: . . .fled in westerly direction. Require case EVAC for wounded and captured terrorists. . .

DRASNIN: The government won't say exactly how many Americans are in the army. Estimates run as high as 400. The government also won't talk about foreign trade. Through the United Nations, the world imposed trade sanctions against Rhodesia 11 years ago, but continues doing business with it, through subsidiary companies in South Africa, which foreign corporations claim they can't control. America's chrome connection has been more direct. The Byrd Amendment - just repealed - had permitted Union Carbide and other American firms to import Rhodesian chrome. The chrome was of high quality, the labor costs low. Unskilled African workers make 35¢ a day above ground, 40¢ a day below ground. There's also an oil connection. Mobil Oil, for one, denies that it circumvents sanctions through an affiliated company in South Africa. Still, Rhodesia, without oil reserves of its own, is getting enough fuel to meet its civilian and military needs.

When it voted sanctions, the U.N. called Rhodesia an illegal and racist regime. To Rhodesia's leaders, it's neither; it's simply misunderstood. We asked Foreign Minister P. K. Van der Byl to explain.

P. K. VAN Der BYL: Well, because-- principally because it's looked upon as almost a fascist, racist state, where the majority of the population, which is black, are downtrodden and victimized by the minority, which is white. And of course, this is perfectly absurd.

PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH: You see, we've got to be careful. What is the alternative? Communism. Where the white man has run away quickly and the black man has taken over, in most of the countries you will find that the Communists have come in and taken over. This is an ideal ground for Communism.

DRASNIN: We asked Prime Minister Ian Smith if Communism is the issue in Rhodesia.

PRIME MINISTER SMITH: Yes, because they realize that this is a bastion of the Free World.

DES FROST [Chairman, Rhodesian Front Party]: I personally believe that the major proportion of the black man prefers to have a white government in control of the situation.

DRASNIN: Does the Chairman of the ruling Rhodesian Front Party, Des Frost, foresee a day of black rule?

FROST: I don't believe I necessarily do.

[African blacks music]

DRASNIN: Such white views can't be tested in Parliament, where blacks are outnumbered three-to-one, or at the ballot box, where Africans can't vote for white candidates, or whites for Africans. The right to vote is based on a shifting formula of income, property and education - by which 97% of Africans can't vote at all. But there are black political movements, and black politicians. Joshua Nkomo was one of the first. Like countless other black Rhodesian leaders, he has spent years in prison. He had been outside the country four months when he returned last fall to address his followers.

JOSHUA NKOMO: There comes a time when people decide to sacrifice their utmost, and that utmost is life. There is nobody, none in this country, who rejoices in war. But where-- when war is inevitable, like when it was inevitable when Hitler wanted to dominate the world, the whole world came forward and fought against Nazism and fascism. So, like those days, the people of this country decided that so far and no further.

DRASNIN: How long are you willing to wait for majority rule?

NKOMO: I'm not waiting. That is why I'm-- I'm here, and that's why I'm struggling, because I don't want to wait. I want it now. Here and-- Here and now!

DRASNIN: The Rhodesian government says that it is fighting Communism here. Are you a Communist?

NKOMO: If-- If fighting to free yourself means that, by so doing, you're a Communist, then we are Communists. If it means we're fighting to be free and live in the way we want to live in Zimbabwe, then we are ourselves. And I believe we are ourselves.

DRASNIN: Black nationalist politics began in the 1950's as a protest movement. One after another, African political parties were banned, re-organized, and banned again. Years of suppression by white governments in turn deprived the movement of leadership, and gave rise to new leaders. It also helped to create deep divisions over tactics, tribal loyalties and personalities. This was the welcome in Salisbury last year for Bishop Abel Muzorewa, a Methodist minister who rose to prominence in 1972. He and every other nationalist leader is faced with the question of disunity and its possible consequences.

BISHOP ABEL MUZOREWA: There are problems of which may even lead to civil war. That is-- That is-- That cannot be ruled out, although I try every way possible to-- to stop that.

DRASNIN: The government says it is fighting Communism. Are you a Communist?

BISHOP MUZOREWA: Every progressive, forward-looking missionary, as far as the government here, is a Communist. Every African nationalist, every person who is involved in trying to-- to destroy an evil system such as we have in Rhodesia, is labelled a Communist. If that's what they mean by "Communist" then I would say I am a Communist. And then I would say to the people like Americans, who fought in 1776 for establishing their own independence, I would say they are comrades.

DRASNIN: Historically, comrades for black nationalism are found in countries where Marxist revolutions have taken place, as here in neighboring Mozambique. Portugal gave up its colony in 1975, opening another front in the Rhodesian war and a secure base for the guerrillas. Robert Mugabe, a lawyer, leads one faction of the nationalist movement that claims the loyalty of a guerrilla army.

ROBERT MUGABE: We have not waged the war merely to get Smith to talk. We have waged the war-- the war in order to get the country back from the-- the grasp of the settlers. And until this has happened, we cannot stop fighting.

DRASNIN: What is the future of the European, the white settler, in Rhodesia?

MUGABE: The Europeans will decide whether to continue to be part of our population; it's entirely up to them. But we are not going to drive anyone out. No. On the other hand, we are not going to create circumstances in which the rights and privileges of a racial minority are infringed.

DRASNIN: The Smith government says it is fighting Communism. Are you a Communist?

MUGABE: I'm not a Communist. I'm a socialist.

MACHINGURA [ZIPA]: Whether ZIPA is a Communist movement or a capitalist movement is immaterial. What is important is whether ZIPA is fighting for the independence of the Zimbabwe people or not.

DRASNIN: ZIPA is the Zimbabwe People's Army. Africans have left Rhodesia by the thousands to take up arms, arms taken from wherever they could get them, mostly from Russia or China.

MACHINGURA: The other guns could. . .

DRASNIN: It's not certain the degree to which they are Communist or Communist-inspired. So far, their supporters come mainly from black African states. But like nationalist politics, the army, too, is divided. The legacy of colonial rule doesn't often provide for stability. It does provide a cause - majority rule, rule by Africans.

Can there be a settlement short of war?

MUGABE: I think that that question could have been answered before 1966. We started the war in 1966, and you cannot-- no longer talk of a settlement which is exclusive of war. We are at war just now, and the-- this war cannot end until the settler regime has surrendered. By this, I mean until they have indicated to us that they are now prepared to transfer power and avoid further bloodshed. But until they do that, we-- we will continue to negotiate with them in the battlefield, rather than at a conference table.

PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH: You see, my family's been in this country a long while. We're not just birds of passage. And I've no intention of running away. Therefore, I want the best deal for Rhodesians, black as well as white. When you've got to live with people, you want to live with happy people. I'm surprised at how many visitors to this country tell me that the happiest black faces they've ever seen anywhere in this earth they find here in Rhodesia, and I love to hear that sort of thing.

DRASNIN: The reasons seem clear why so far talk has led nowhere. The discussions, the conferences, the negotiations all are overpowered by history. What remains are the images - some seen, some not seen - every night on Rhodesian television as it signs off with the National Anthem, the *Ode To Joy*.

[Chorus singing National Anthem]

[ANNOUNCEMENTS]

DRASNIN: Since we filmed this report, little has happened to encourage hopes for an early or peaceful settlement.

Bishop Lamont's sentence was reduced on appeal, but he may not go to jail. Instead, the government says he'll be deported.

Prime Minister Ian Smith is seeking new talks with blacks inside Rhodesia, a course already rejected by nationalist leaders and by Britain and the United States.

The country's Land Tenure Act has been amended, a measure which doesn't affect the great majority of black Rhodesians, who remain economically unable to benefit from it.

Inevitably, racial justice for blacks will be served with the end of colonial rule. But the question of human rights for all will remain. Politics and human rights are inseparable, as military and Marxist governments have particularly demonstrated elsewhere. So, too, has it been shown that the color of a government is no guarantee of civil liberties.

In an independent Zimbabwe, the question of human rights will become the universal one of dissidents and minority rights: of a white minority, of tribal minorities, and of the losers—black and white—in the struggle for independence.

RHODESIA RADIO: For Derek and Russels and the Regent—all the boys in F Company—tell them to keep their heads down and their morale up. We're all thinking of them. [Indistinct name]

Hi Mark! To let you know that even though you're out of sight, you're never out of mind. Can't wait to see you. All my love, Nicky.

For John O'Brien: Hi love, . . .

DRASNIN: There is this postscript to the story of Bishop Lamont. His Rhodesian citizenship was revoked by the government. He left the country last week.

RHODESIAN RADIO: . . . Hi, son! Well, 72 days to go. Hope that you get a pass soon. Miss you very much. All our love, Mom, Dad, George and Ken.

For Robbie Lister and Alex [Indistinct]: How's it going, boys? Still loving it? Hope all's well. Love, Maria.

Love going now to P.O. Nicky Robinson from Mam Fernando and all the family, and please tell him we're very proud of him and send our love and prayers for all the Rhodesian boys.

[ANNOUNCEMENTS]